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ABSTRACT

The consequences of the German model for the relation between university professors and students and between students and society are summarized. Two positions are outlined, using a novel by German author Michael Zeller to illustrate some of the problems of student ideologies in higher education. The novel illustrates a period in the history of European universities from Follen to Buchwald and some of the contradictions inherent in the theory and practice of this university project. Four points in the German model are stressed: (1) the university is a place for research (which affects professional training); (2) to do research is to seek truth, i.e. the university has an ethical task to perform; (3) characteristic of this search for truth is that it is never-ending; and (4) for the individual, the search for truth means the development of a deeper insight into his own self and into reality. The university must convey these insights to students, start the process, and teach them to create it out of themselves. Details on student associations formed around the turn of the century and their impact on society are provided. Features of importance in the development of the relations between students and the state are noted. The transformation of cultural radicals

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STUDENT IDEOLOGIES AND CULTURAL RADICALISM - SOME SWEDISH EVIDENCE

by Nils Runeby

I

The German author Michael Zeller, previously assistant professor of German literature at the University of Erlangen, recently published a novel about an assistant professor of German literature at a small German university, here called Winkeln; about his problematic love-life and his ideological anxieties.[1] Zeller writes fluently in an entertaining, ironic, sometimes arrogant way, and evidently from his own experience. But his story is a rather sad one.

The story takes place in 1977, a year when Germany was haunted by terrorism. Zeller's protagonist, Buchwald, becomes half-heartedly involved in grass-root student manifestations. He gives up, confronted with the more or less subtle persuasive powers of his established, tenured colleagues and the ministry of education. The literary qualities of Zeller's novel will not be discussed here, but there are some points in the book that might be used to illustrate the problem of student ideologies in higher education.

At the beginning of the book Buchwald is looking for an appropriate subject for his **Habilitationsschrift**. He happens to stumble upon Karl Follen, the famous student leader of the first **Burschenschaft** generation, lawyer and poet, seen as instigator of the Sand-Kotzebue murder case, victim of the so-called persecution of the demagogues and finally emigrant to the U S A. Follen is a new acqaintance to Buchwald, who tries to find out why Follen has been forgotten and his message neglected.

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In Zeller's novel Buchwald's work on Follen, his life, activities and publications is described together with the story of student unrest in Winkeln. Buchwald announces a seminar on modern poetry and wrestles with an article for a literary journal, where in euphoric mood he includes some highly questionable phrases. A young theology student is preparing a paper on a verse of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans (12:12): Und stellet euch nicht dieser Welt gleich, sondern verändert euch durch Erneuerung eures Sinnes". The student put on a show about the Kotzebue murder.

When the reaction comes, Buchwald realises the vulnerable position he has got himself into, and gets frightened ("Nur Angst war da"). He also realises that he has not even Follen's possibilities: "Denn vor Buchwald lag kein Amerika mehr. Auf seiner Landkarte fanden sich keine weissen Flecken. Alle Kontinente waren inzwischen zu Tode kolonisiert".[2] Some students go underground, others talk about "überwintern und abwarten und Tee trinken".[3] Buchwald announces his retreat: he drops his Follen project (with a mixed feeling of shame and relief) and starts reading Goethe: not **Werther**... but **Dichtung und Wahrheit**. Zeller calls his novel **Follens Erbe**. The moral of the story is evident.

Zeller's book illustrates very clearly a rather specific period in the history of European universities, born of specific circumstances: the period from Follen to Buchwald. The novel also very well illustrates some of the important contradictions inherent in the theory and practice of this university project. The novel could also be used to point out - and I find this important - that if these contradictions are to be understood, the students have to be taken into consideration. Zeller seems to think that the students are the keepers of the true university tradition. The novel is a German one: the subtitle of the book is **Eine deutsche Geschichte**; but as far as the university idea goes, it becomes a European (perhaps a world-wide) affair. The Swedish universities dwelt in the shadow of the German development.

II

The German innovation, Björn Wittrock has pointed out,

"was spread through a process of diffusion which involved selective borrowing and creative misunderstanding which, in turn, paved the way for spread of the model and for its adaption to a variety of societal and cultural contexts from the United States in the West to Japan in the East".[4]

The German innovation means here the beginning of the research-oriented university in contrast to British liberal and the French advanced professional education. I am here not discussing the important question of whether the university described by Wilhelm von Humboldt ever really existed: instead I would stress the "creative misunderstanding" Wittrock is

talking about. The students' "misunderstanding" of the university message is a fascinating subject.

My only ambition is, first , to summarise the consequences of the German model for the relation between university professors and students, and between students and society. I shall then outline two positions on the way from Follen to Buchwald, arguing that the first position is a prerequisite for the second. The first is, if not identical with, at least very close to the general Humboldt/Follen model. The second position may be of a more specifically Swedish (or Scandinavian) kind, and concerns the situation around the turn of the century. I shall also indicate the possible importance of this position for the development up to the present. I am fully aware that my statement of these two positions will in part be very traditional, in part highly dubious.

Four well-known points in the German model, important for further discussion, will be specially stressed. I owe them mainly to Fichte who, like Zeller, also lectured in Erlangen. They are:

1) the university is a place for research. This research orientation does not exclude, but affects, professional training;

2) to do research is to seek for truth i. e. the university has an ethical task to perform;

3) characteristic of this search for truth is that it is never-ending. Through it, the moral soundness of state and society will be secured;

4) For the individual, the search for truth means the development of a deeper insight into his own self and into reality. It is the mission of the university to convey these insights to students, to start the process, to make students susceptible to the eternal idea, teach them to create it out of themselves and give it a real form.

The learned man and the student thus have a unique position in society, a responsibility for serving truth in freedom, and also for the moral situation in a country. Research is an unfinished process, and is a combination of research and education, a common effort of students and teachers.[5]

This development is important, because it gives students a potential platform of their own; and it deserves a few comments. Through this message the older idea of an international brotherhood of truth-seekers moves into the university. It means that it is possible from now on in a university, to point out those who are true to their vocation and those who are not, who have given up or surrended to false gods. Schiller, as early as 1789 in Jena, argued against the traditional, phlegmatic, passive university teacher. The real teacher, "der philosophische Kopf", cannot rest, struggles

incessantly to get into the centre of his endeavour, his **Wissenschaft**. Schiller talks of his "noble impatience", **seine edle Ungeduld**.[6]

The relation between university teachers and the international brotherhood is a complicated one. This is especially evident if these ideas are translated into English. Close to the idea of **Bildung** is in Britain the idea of culture, if culture is identified as "a court of human appeal", a social idea which should be capable of embodying true ideas of value" as Raymond Williams expresses it.[7] If then the brotherhood is identified whith the "clerisy" of the poet Coleridge, an interesting complication can be pointed out. "The heart of the clerisy approach", Sheldon Rothblatt writes, "as first outlined by Coleridge, was the endowment of an educated class in order to insure its survival in a market economy".

> "If this was an effort to protect a republic of the mind from the swings of public opinion, it was also an attempt to avoid the German solution of transforming the **Gelehrten** into civil servants."[8]

My only point here is to emphasise the ambiguity that from now on is connected with an academic person. He can on one hand be regarded with the creative genius of Romanticism, the romantic Wanderer, the free writer, the dandy, the Bohemian, the intellectual. On the other hand he can be accused (by members of the free brotherhood) of servility, of fellow-travelling, of subservience to the high and mighty. I would further argue that this ambiguity has deeply affected the concept of the student also.

In this context it is necessary to consider another development: the birth of Youth. The French sociologist Annie Kriegel writes:

"The development of industrial society both demanded and allowed a space of time between childhood (freed of economic obligations) and adulthood (the time to settle down into marriage and work) - a kind of interlude devoted to apprenticeships...".

She also mentioned that

> "the increasing differentiation and complexity of professions, trades and technology within the process of industrialisation swelled the ranks of those considered young...".

Through the apprenticeships young people acquired "knowledge to which the fathers had not access", and this "upset all relationships between familial strata". During the 19th century we also got an "ideology of youth". To this belonged purity (from money) and enthusiasm (freedom from routine). Kriegel points out that students "offered the first model of 'Bohemian life', a life-style appropriate for an inter-class group".[9] The young people also assume responsibility for 'the new', 'progress', 'the happy future', and we get all over Europe at one time or another groups calling

themselves Young Germany, Young Italy, Young Poland, Young Sweden, etc.

If we now put together the new university and the new (the young) student, students assume a special responsibility as the "chivalry of light" as they called themselves in Sweden, responsible - among the young as well - for scientific progress, for the moral standards of the future, for truth.

And this is where Karl Follen comes in. It has recently been emphasised that the 'Humboldtian' reform was a reform from above. It corresponded to a new need from below.10 The generation of German students that came to the new universities were somewhat older than their predecessors, carried with them a war experience, a national dream and an idea of a reformed state and a good society. They organized themselves, held meetings, wrote declarations and songs. The great festival on the Wartburg of 1817 has been called "the first overt, self-concious assertion of the intellectual elite as a political force in modern history",11 and the Burschenschaft "the archetype of the modern student movement".12 We get student leaders, student poets and student martyrs.

Their ambitions were immediately recognised by the authorities and a period of hard repression followed, with terror from both sides. The students went underground or into exile until the next opportunity, in 1848. It is quite obvious that these students did not look upon the university as a haven for pure and disinterested research. We can listen to a young Viennese poet in 1848:

> "The daylight hour at last breaking/ Our hopes and prayers have yearned to see/ 'tis your young hearts to light awakening/ The University!// When Kaiser Joseph came in thunder/ To bind the tongue's sweet liberty/ Who to burst the bonds asunder?/ The University!"13

III

What I have been saying so far is intended as an outline of the first of the two positions mentioned at the beginning of this paper. I would also suggest that for a period of 100-150 years after the Wartburg, it is possible to find important echoes of the ambitions and the rhetoric of the first generation, and that the later antagonisms must be seen in the light of the basic ambiguities of the first period. Without going into detail, there is surely evidence enough in the existing literature to argue for the existence of student activism in Sweden, as in the other Scandinavian countries, closely connected with the first position at least in the 1840s, even if Sweden had neither revolution nor student martyrs.14

In Sweden, then, the organizational structure of student activism has changed considerably during the 19th and 20th centuries, but new associations have not normally led to dissolution of older ones. They have been added to the previous organizations, creating new platforms for activity. The organizational innovations are also linked with the different stages of student activism. Until the end of the 19th century, only two universities existed on the Swedish mainland, Uppsala and Lund. In these, students have, since the 17th century, been organized according to their home provinces. These nationer were meant to be social clubs, a meeting-place for older and younger students and an instrument for specialization and control based upon a provincial loyalty. As early as 1677, affiliation to such a "nation" was declared compulsory.

The development during the 19th century can be seen as an effort partly to use, partly to oppose the nation system to create a common student union. In accordance with a general trend of creating "volontary associations", these unions were to be different from the "nations". Instead of a seniority system, the officials were to be elected. Each student was to have one vote. The union was meant to be a students' platform: no old professor should have the right to intrude in the matters discussed. The first attempt failed, however. Only when the leaders of the "nations" joined in support of the union idea in Uppsala in 1849 did it succeed. The Uppsala union was initially primarily a coordinating committee for the nations, and the same was true at the university in Lund. Thus compulsory membership of a "nation" led to membership of the union. In the universities founded in Stockholm and Gothenburg during the 19th century, the "nation" system is conspicously abscent.

The creation of student unions must be seen as a result of the first wave of student activism and the rise of a student identity. The movement of the 1840s became in many ways the model for the ones that followed, and the standard image of the politically aware student openly proclaiming his competence in educational and political questions is a product of this period. The university is not a school, wrote a young Finnish university graduate in 1840, at that time working as a journalist in Stockholm. It is a task of the university, he writes, to convey to the students a love for true knowledge and scientific research. If the university teacher cannot do this, he is incompetent for his post. The teacher must not be regarded as infallible, and the student must be given the right to form his own opinion, to choose independently and to judge the knowledge presented to him. This is a prerequisite for the development of his "consciousness of self". Students must also be given the right to form an independent student community.[15] The political competence of students was proclaimed very clearly, as was their right to formulate a political opinion. "When the student is expected to be able to handle, for example, the sublime theories of Astronomy and the abstract sophistry of Philosophy", a speaker said in 1840, "I cannot understand why he is not supposed to comprehend the concrete social and political conditions right in front of his nose". -"Has the academic citizen",

says the leading student spokesman of the time, the poet Carl Strandberg, "no other purpose in life than to get an academic degree? Does he not have a native country and is he not also a citizen of the greatest of all countries, that of mankind?" If this cannot be denied, you cannot blame the student if he with all his youthful vitality fights for his rights "to **think** independently in political as well as in other matters, and to **inform others** of the results of his thinking".[16] Strandberg was influenced by the German Left Hegelians and the writers of Young Germany.

Strandberg's ideas were met with scepticism by more established people in the academic community. "The main enemy of the student and of his future success", writes a university teacher, "is the man who makes him believe he can contribute to state affairs before he, through serious studies, has reached a man's conviction". If students are granted political influence, and academic freedom is interpreted as selfishness, then the seriousness of academic studies will be jeopardised and the future of the country will be dark and full of quarrels.[17] Yet this university teacher explicitly pointed out that it was the duty of the university to consider the problems of its time, and it was also the duty of the university teacher, when it comes to the crunch, "to courageously be a spokesman for truth and justice.". But on the way to **Bildung**, the students had not come far enough. They had not the "man's conviction" of the teachers.

The rise of the student unions and the activities and aspirations of students in the 1840's are very intimately related to political development during this decade, and to the so-called Scandinavian movement in which student organizations operated on a Scandinavian level and became involved in questions of foreign policy. This is mentioned merely to emphasise the birth of the politicized student and the forming of a pattern for student activities. Annie Kriegel talks of the importance of "the creation of a collective memory". Also, it must be stressed, the active student had from the beginning the ambition to work on two interdependent fronts, one inside the university and one outside. The student has **as a student** a task to fulfil **outside** the university. That this position can be an elitist one, or be regarded as free-floating (Bohemian), is another matter.

IV

The second position I wish to present is of a somewhat different kind. As has frequently been pointed out, students have been, and in some countries still are, an important factor in the process of modernisation. This is indeed very evident in Sweden, where it is connected with the second wave of student activism in the 1880s and 1890s. During this movement a new platform for student action, the voluntary political student associations, was added to the previous ones. Since student unions have to represent all students, they must keep a low profile; while the independent associations can take a stand on controversial matters and act out their opinions in a way

a union never can. The 1880s movement also provides a good example of what impact student activism can have on society. Even though the students associations were small, I would argue that their beliefs and world view, later known as "cultural radicalism", have had a profound influence on development in Sweden during the 20th century. It is even necessary to take the "80s" tradition into consideration if we are to understand the revolt of the 1960s and the social and political climate in Sweden today.

At the end of the 19th century Sweden changed rapidly from an agrarian to an industrial country. The struggle for social reforms and general franchise resulted in new organizations on the labour market and the rise of the modern party system. At the universities, still dominated by idealistic philosophy, groups of students who felt that they could not speek freely, either in the "nations" or in the unions, joined together and formed "discussion clubs".

Informal at first, these soon developed into more organized associations with clearly defined programmes. Most attention was attracted by the radical organizations on the "left", i.e. Liberal and Social Democratic. However, these organizations can be regarded as "political" only if the term is used in a broader sense. The best known of them, **Verdandi**, had for instance as a principle never to declare sympathy for any political party; but it can be seen as an exponent of a radical liberalism in the tradition of John Stuart Mill. The name of the organization refers to an old Nordic goddess of fate, and it also had something to do with the future. The name, of course, must be interpreted in a symbolic way. Verdandi members wanted to be a part of the coming age and to form its character. They were the heralds of progress. They, too, had their poets. The verses have a familiar ring:

> "Wherever research dares/ to kill a prejudice/ there a cornerstone is laid/ for the welfare of coming centuries./ Wherever in the house of science/ a bold idea is formed,/ there a road is built to happiness for waiting mankind.// Wherever a wilderness dreams/ of the never-known plough/ Wherever a riddle is hidden/ there, student, is your way."[18]

In 1932 the organization celebrated its 50th anniversary, and a Festschrift was published to commemorate the occasion. I quote two papers from this book, to give the idea of the programme of the organization and of the criticism directed against it, partly in the form of hindsight of at least one of its older members who now saw its activities in the light of This maturer experience.

The writer is a former chairman, now a well-known author, publicist and critic, a member of the Swedish academy and an honorary doctor of the University of Uppsala. He summarises the aspirations of Verdandi when it started. His name is Torsten Fogelqvist. The founders of Verdandi in the 1880s, he writes, regarded their student generation as responsible for the

cultural policy, the legislation, the public spirit and the ethics of the future. University education meant then, and still means, he says, not only preparation for a profession, a living, but also preparation for a position in state, in society, and a cultural responsibility. The founders wanted to take the debates on current central problems out of the student chambers and into an open forum.[19]

At this point I would like make an addition to what Fogelqvist says: even if public debates were one of the main activities of Verdandi (and they caused some real scandals in Uppsala), the organization also made itself known in other fields. One was the students' aspiration to go out and seek contact with the workers, eventually the labour movement. Associations for cooperation between students and workers were set up in Uppsala and Lund, with the aim of bridging the gap between students and workers and/or making them join forces for the common good and for democratic reforms such as universal franchise.

Intimately connected with these ideas was the intense interest of Verdandi in popular education. Various activities were organized: the writing of articles for newspapers, courses for workers, travelling librairies, art exhibitions, etc.[20]

One initiative that attracted very much attention was the publication of a series of pamphlets popularising a wide range of subjects, from astronomy and Darwinism to orthography and the noble art of making a good speech.The series became famous, and inspired other student organizations even in Uppsala. Verdandi people could be very anxious, however, to point out that there was a special policy behind **their** publications: the themes for the pamphlets were not picked at random.

In 1901 a Nordic conference on popular education took place in Uppsala and Stockholm. In one of the discussions a Verdandi speaker felt called upon to make a distinction. "It is difficult", he said, "for outsiders to understand why people in Uppsala working for popular education belong to two different organizations. The question is of fundamental importance: ought you to convey to the working classes knowledge that will give them only some more incoherent facts and refined entertainment or should you give them such knowledge as they want themselves, and which makes them dissatisfied with their intellectual and social conditions?"

The historical subjects Verdandi has chosen, he says, concern periods of social unrest, and the scientific subjects concern the theory of evolution and other modern theories. Verdandi, says another speaker, looks upon popular education as the means for reaching an end; for the other organization, it is an end in itself.[21] Evidently there existed for the Verdandi students different traditions in popular education. In their opinion, it was a question of developing a consciousness of self, starting a process, and this was an important ethical and social task. In the history of popular education it is

important to note these two traditions. Whether the Verdandi students succeeded in realising their programme is another question.

The speaker quoted mentioned the modern theories that Verdandi wanted to take out to the people. The ideas he was referring to can be specified more precisely with the help of the Fogelqvist essay of 1932. In its first phase, Fogelqvist says, Verdandi represented a radical student opposition, hostile to existing political, social, moral and religious opinions. Its members wanted to replace the old metaphysical and traditionally religious foundations of society, morality and law with "bio-sociological" ones. They wanted to create a "rational society" inspired by modern science and the theories of evolution. They argued for their right to an open public debate even on such questions as family planning and sexuality. Nietsche, Ibsen and Brandes were some of their prophets.

It is now quite evident that Fogelqvist in 1932 had his doubts about the platform of the founders. It is easy to criticise those student generations that were inspired by verdandism, he writes. They had a blind faith in the power of discussions and resolutions, a certain weakness for the radical cliche and a tendency "to regard everything that could not be rationally proved and resolved in a utilitarian way as a result of prejudice and stupidity". They believed fanatically in a rational scientific solution to the mysteries of mankind and the problems of society. Fogelqvist considers that they overlooked the impact of tradition and the importance of history and philosophy.

With very mixed feelings, Fogelqvist also concludes that the Verdandi programme not only helped the workers and the labour movement to emancipate themselves, but also to formulate a socialist programme of their own. "Verdandi sowed, socialism reaped", he writes. Fogelqvist finds consolation in the conviction, however, that "it was not socialism that won, but Swedish democratic culture in general", and he also talks of "the selfeductional **Kulturkampf** of Swedish democracy". At the same time Verdandi turned more decidedly liberal in the sense of accomodating to the liberal party.[22] It seems significant that Fogelqvist strongly stresses Verdandi's indepen-dence of party politics, its free-floating position as defender of the general (perhaps the eternal) values of humanism and humanity. The younger Verdandi and the older Fogelqvist illustrate very well, it seems to me, the watering-down of an aggressive, practical reform programme into a more difuse, general declaration of principles for guardians of the light.

The Verdandi programme could, even in 1932, be formulated in a positive way. Another contributor to the volume writes with more enthusiasm of the heritage, the ideas of progress, evolution and individualism, and the struggle against Christian pessimism, conservative elitism and socialist determinism. During the last decades of the 19th century, this contributor writes, it seems as if all warm-hearted, imaginative people embraced the

revolutionary idea. The earth becomes the real home of minkind, and when the transcendental world fades away, the idea of culture as a norm becomes an ideal to fight for, to believe in, to love.

The heroes of the new world view he mentions are very interesting: Kant, Fichte, Comte, Bentham, Spencer and Mill have formulated this new dream, the dream of a cultural idealism, of a new mankind and a new earth. This idealism, he stresses, has nothing to do with the so-called idealist philosophy at the Swedish universities, or with Hegelianism. The struggle for cultural idealism, he says, developed into cultural radicalism, the belief in the aims of the struggle became cultural optimism and the social consequences became social policy.[23] These last sentences well summarise the ambitions and the combination of theory and practice. Cultural radicalism became a catch-word in Sweden.[24]

As a matter of fact many of the ideas of the 1880s were still current in the labour movement long after they had lost interest in the student world. It is also of great importance that in Sweden anti-intellectual ideas have never dominated the Social Democratic Party, which soon came to be the leading force in the labour movement. Naturally there have been strong anti-academic groups among labour people in Sweden as well as on the continent, but the leaders have been chosen from groups with a positive attitude to the students, at least up to the last two decades. To some extent this might be explained by the cooperation between students and workers, the coalition of hand and brain, as it was called, during the forming years of the labour movement.

We have gone into detail concerning the student associations formed around the turn of the century since their impact on society is specially well documented. It is evident that the impact of the voluntary student associations has continued,and some more general traits can be pointed out. First, these associations have often acted as a bridge between the academic worlds and society at large. Not only are new scientific theories spread to politicians and the general public, but questions and problems from society in general are at the same time brought into the academic debate by students active on both spheres. Secondly, the political student associations at their best have functioned as a kind of "creative milieu". Students with knowledge of different subjects are given a chance to discuss a problem from many different angles, and sometimes real innovative solutions are thus found. True to the cultural-radical heritage, however, the proposals have often had a pronounced rationalistic style; and this deserves a concluding remark.

V

In the 1920s and 1930s Verdandi was facing a new phenomenon: an organization to the left of the Social Democrats, which partly took over the

programme of cultural radicalism, adapted it to the after-war period and combined it with a socialist, even a Marxist, ideology.[25] It must be pointed out that Marxism as a research programme during this period never entered the university establishment: it remained at student level.

It was difficult for Verdandi members to decide how to handle the Left. The demarcation line to the right - the Conservatives and the Fascists - was absolutely clear, but was cooperation with the Marxists possible? During the years of the popular front the answer was not obvious,but most of the time it was in the negative. The cultural radicals, the Social Democrats and the Marxists at student level had, however, one thing in common: the dream of a rational society.

The sociologist Ron Eyerman has in an essay coined the term "rationalizing intellectuals" and has applied it to some influential Swedish theorists in the 1930s and 1940s. His definition seems highly relevant in this context, too. These intellectuals

> "objectified, isolated and transformed into 'problems' what previously were taken-for-routine behaviors. They used cognition in an instrumental way, thematizing issues as social problems, for which they could provide solutions. Thus they more than articulated vaguely felt interests: they also claimed to provide solutions, answers grounded in science, an instrumental cognitive process to which intellectuals, by definition, had privileged access."

"The universities would then become the leading edge of the charge into the future." They wanted to create an "expert culture". Eyerman sees them "as active agents in the transformation of Swedish society", and he talks of "a new political discourse, one founded upon science and practical rationality", and of a "tempered Utopianism".[26]

Another feature of central importance in the development of the relations between students and the state is the existence of a common organization that can speak on behalf of all students. The Swedish National Association of Student Unions (SFS) was founded in 1921 with the sole purpose of electing representatives to international bodies. The founding unions felt that they had very little in common and did best on their own. SFS stayed merely a "paper organization" up to the mid-thirties. When the Social Democrats came to power and formed a government in 1932, a position they held uninterruptedly for 44 years, they opted for slightly different policy towards the unions than that of their predecessors. This policy might be described as "cooptive" in that the government tried to absorb discontent among the students by giving them the chance to express their opinions "in an orderly manner" rather than on the streets.

Well aware of the Nazi takeover of German student organizations, the Minister of Education, himself a former radical student leader, showed a

positive interest in student matters. In 1934, SFS got help to organize a national student meeting and, since some of the demands raised were quickly implemented as reforms, the students felt they were being taken seriously. This vitalised SFS. The organization started to act as the "voice of all students", and when in 1945 it was given its first representation on a government commission, this was seen as official recognition of its status. SFS developed into a "labour union of students" and it is important to remember that the term "trade unionism" has frequently been used by different political parties to define a policy of solving conflicts of different kinds through negotiations between representatives of the groups concerned.

To follow the transformation of the cultural radicals into rationalizing intellectuals is intriguing. The question must be asked, what happened to the brotherhood of truth-seekers and the dream of the free forum and the never-ending process of critical debate of the 1810s, 1840s and 1880s, in the "expert culture", when the student platform developed into a university body and a state ideology? What happened to Schiller's noble impatience? Some would argue, perhaps, that a kind of answer came again from the students in 1968; but was 1968 a "create misunderstanding" or a destructive one? Verdandi ceased to be an attractive organization in the 1970s: it collapsed in the general turmoil. Maybe the whole tradition is dead, the one that started in Germany with Follen and ended with Buchwald and with the students talking about "überwintern und Tee trinken"? So as not to end on too pessimistic a note, I will give the last word to Karl Follen, as quoted by Zeller: "...nur dadurch, dass etwas geschieht, wird eine Geschichte".[27]

NOTES

1. Zeller, M (1986) **Follens Erbe. Eine Deutsche Geschichte** (Bad Homburg).

2. Zeller, p 267.

3. Zeller, p 270.

4. Wittrock, B (1985) "Dinosaurs or Dolphins? Rise and resurgence of the research-oriented university", in: Wittrock, B, Elzinga, A, (eds) **The University Research System**. The Public Policies of the Home of Scientists Almqvist & Wiksell International (Stockholm), p 22.

5. An excellent summary of the German model is Riedel, M (1977) "Wilhelm von Humboldts Begründung der 'Einheit von Forschung und Lehre' als Leitidee der Universität". **Zeitschrift für Pädagogik**, 14. Beiheft.

6. I am here quoting Schiller's famous lecture "Was heisst und zu welchem Ende studiert man Universalgeschichte? Eine akademische Antrittsrede" (Jena 1790. Reprint: **Jenaer Reden und Schriften**, Heft 1, Jena 1953).

7. Williams, R (1963) **Culture and Society. 1780-1950**, (Revised ed Harmondsworth, Middlesex), p 17, 52, 75f.

8. Rothblatt, S (1986) "George Eliot as a Type of European Intellectual", **History of European Ideas**, vol 7, No 1, p 50f.

9. Kriegel, A (1978) "Generational Difference: The History of an Idea", **Daedalus**, vol 107, No 4, p 26f.

10. Hardtwig, W (1985), "Krise der Universität, studentische Reformbewegung (1750-1819) und die Sozialisation der jugendlichen deutschen Bildungsschicht. Aufriss eines Forschungsproblems", **Geschichte und Gesellschaft**, 11 Jg. Heft 2.

11. Feuer, L S (1969) **The Conflict of Generations**. The Character and Significance of Student Movements (London), p 58.

12. Lutz, R R (1984) "The German Revolutionary Student Movement 1819-1833". **Central European History**, vol 4, 1971, p 215. On the German student movement in general, see Jarausch, K H (1984) **Deutsche Studenten 1800-1970** (Frankfurt/Main).

13. Cit Feuer, p 73f.

14. A summary of the development of the Swedish student organizations, heir activities and the situation today is given in: Runeby, N,

Skoglund, C, "Student Activism in Sweden. A Perspective". In: Altbach, P G, ed, **Student Political Activism: An International Reference Handbook**. To be published in 1989 by Greenwood Press. Some paragraphs from this essay have also been used here.

15. Snellman, J V (1840) **Om det akademiska studium** (Stockholm).

Cit Tarschys, B (1949) **Talis Quslis. Studentpoeten**. Miljö- och tidskriftshistoriska studier (Stockholm), p 192ff.

Cit Tarschys, p 197.

18. Strömstedt, A (1929) **Dikter** (Gothenburg). The poem is called "De och vi" and was written in honour of Robert Koch .

19. Fogelqvist, T (1932) "Verdandismen". In: **Verdandi genom 50 år**. Ur den svenska radikalismens historia (Stockholm).

20. On Swedish university intellectuals and popular education see Liedman, S E (1987) "Civil Servants Close to the People: Swedish university intellectuals and society at the turn of the century". **History of European Ideas**, vol 8, No 2.

21. Förhandlingarna vid studenternas folkbildningsmöte i Uppsala och Stockholm 9-12 maj 1901 (Stockholm), p 55, 60.

22. Cf Blanck, A "Generation 1900-1910", in: **Verdandi genom femtio år**, p 189.

23. Cederblad, C "Liberalismen, Verdandi och folkbildningsarbetet", in: **Verdandi genom femtio år**.

24. On the ideological background to cultural radicalism, the founders of Verdandi and the 'left ' ideology of student organizations, see Johnson, K (1987) **Vid vetandets gräns**. Om skiljelinjen mellan naturvetenskap och metafysik i svensk kulturdebatt 1870-1920 (Lund), and Skoglund, C (1987) "Vänsterstudenter, kulturradikalism och bildningsideal i sekelskiftets Sverige", Idéhistoriska uppsatser 13, Avdelningen för idéhistoria (Stockholm University).

25. Cf Stenkvist, J (1971) **Arnold Ljungdal, Clarté och tjugotalet** (Stockholm).

26. Eyerman, R (1985) "Rationalizing Intellectuals. Sweden in the 1930s and 1940s", **Theory and Society**, vol 14. An example of a 'radical' standpoint is discussed in Runeby, N "L'accomplissment définitif de notre sociéte", **Nouvelles de la République de lettres**, 1986:2.

27. Zeller, p 267.

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